



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

# ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MAY AND JUNE, 1848.

## THE LATE FRENCH REVOLUTION:

ITS PROBABLE BEARINGS ON THE PEACE OF EUROPE AND THE WORLD.

FRANCE has once more been revolutionized in a day, virtually in an hour ; and an order of things, almost entirely new, has arisen on the sudden ruin of her throne and her charter. Louis Philippe, the Citizen King, crowned less than eighteen years ago by the people as the monarch of their choice, and for a long time exceedingly popular, has at length been compelled by a Parisian mob to flee in haste and terror from the country ; and from the midst of all this chaos, at the very acme of this whirlwind in the political elements, there emerges a Provisional Government, with some of the ablest and best men in France at its head, that stays the threatened effusion of blood, restores order in less than a week, and holds out to Europe the olive-branch of peace, and to France the promise of a republic akin to our own.

A revolution truly marvellous ; but it comes not within our province, as associated friends of peace, to discuss its general character, or its probable results to France. It is no part of our business to inquire how far Christianity allows the use of brute force to restrain or punish wrong-doers, to enforce law, or preserve order, to sustain or to revolutionize government. No man, however, pretends to find in the Christian Scriptures any countenance of what is termed the Right of Revolution, the alleged right of every community, not only without law, but against all law, to overthrow the established government by violence, and erect another upon its ruins. Still the cause of peace, restricted to the intercourse of nations, and aiming solely at the adjustment of their difficulties without a resort to the sword, does not concern itself with any such questions of internal policy, and considers only their bearings on the peace of the world.

What will be the result of this movement on the question of peace, no human sagacity can at present (April 5,) foresee with any degree of

certainty ; and we confess ourselves in painful suspense between our hopes and our fears. Time alone can determine the point ; and meanwhile the wise and the good will await its disclosures with not a little anxiety. Some aspects of this revolution are ominous of evils without measure or end. It was the work of a rabble, the creature of a Parisian mob, trampling on all law, sweeping away the whole structure of government at a blow or a shout, and thus opening the way for a perfect anarchy, for the worst atrocities of the old French Revolution in 1792. There was no form of law or order, no pretence of legal or constitutional right ; but the idle and hungry canaille of Paris, thrown out of employ, and clamoring for bread, charging the hardships of their lot to the misconduct of their rulers, and hoping from a change of the latter for an improvement of their own condition, rose in wrath against the government, and trampled it like mire under their feet. The champions of political reform had claimed the right to agitate that subject in a way which the government deemed unlawful, but were willing and actually proposed to have the question of its legality settled in the usual way by the courts of law. This fair and equitable appeal the reformers declined, and continued their agitation until the people, roused to phrenzy by the sacrifice of a few lives in the enforcement of law, and the support of order, rushed in overwhelming masses to the legislature, stopped all its proceedings by their threats of violence, and, having driven the majority from their seats, and refused to acknowledge the new king, or the new ministry, or any part of the existing government, raised the shout for a republic. A few master-spirits of the minority in the legislature responded to this shout, and were allowed by the mob to call themselves, without any form of law, or claim of right beyond the dictation or permission of this rabble, *the Provisional Government of France!* Here was mobocracy with a witness ; a procedure compared with which the movement (1842) in Rhode Island stigmatized as the “Dorr Rebellion,” was the perfection of law and order. The reformers in Rhode Island demanded a change in their constitution, acknowledged by nearly all to be desirable ; and, in their efforts to bring it about, they proceeded for the most part in a legal and orderly way. They publicly proposed the change ; they discussed it at popular meetings called for the purpose ; they chose delegates to frame a new constitution which they submitted to the people in due time for their acceptance or rejection ; nor did they, until its adoption was secured through these forms of law, proceed to choose a new set of officers for the State, and induct them into office by the usual ceremonies. We could never sanction even this movement ; but how different from the late revolution in France ! Had a mob of twenty thousand men, scooped from the gutter, or rushing from work-

shops and groggeries, surrounded the State-House of Rhode Island without any previous vote or voice of the people as a body, without a single form of law, or claim of right save their own will, demanding with loaded muskets the ejection of all the leading executive officers, expelling the majority from their seats, and then permitting a few of their favorites in a somewhat meagre minority to put themselves at the head of affairs, to abolish the whole legislature at a blow, and introduce a new constitution with a single dash of their pen, we should have had a pretty close resemblance to this vaunted revolution by the rabble of Paris.

But the thing itself is much better than its origin would indicate. We marvel at the degree of self-control, moderation and mercy, exercised by the revolutionary mob. They put some of the best men in France, or suffered them to put themselves, at the head of a provisional government founded in the main on correct principles; and this government pro tempore, with the consent of their mobocratic constituents, decreed at once a Republic, political and religious liberty to all, freedom of speech and the press, the elective franchise to every man over twenty-one years of age with the right of voting by secret ballot, the severance of the church from the state, and the abolition of all hereditary distinctions, and of slavery throughout the French colonies. Here are just and noble principles; and, if the French people have the qualities requisite for carrying them into effect in a system of self-government, we have no fears for the result. We will hope for the best, but cannot repress our doubts whether France, or any country except our own, is yet prepared for a republican form of government. The pinch is yet to come, first when the nine hundred deputies meet to establish a definite form of government, and next when this government shall attempt, as it must, to enforce its laws against the will of such men as composed the late revolutionary mob of Paris. The principles on which that mob acted, are utterly subversive of all government, and must, if not abandoned or suppressed, lead first to anarchy, and finally to despotism as its only cure. Such men as Dupont, Arago and Lamartine, probably mean to do what is substantially right; but time alone can determine whether the character of the French people will enable or permit them to carry out their wise and patriotic plans.

Meanwhile the Provisional Government, speaking through Lamartine, its Foreign Secretary, has proclaimed to the world principles and dispositions which augur well for the continuance of peace. Speaking of "the principles which will henceforth direct the foreign policy of the French Government," he says, "the proclamation of the French Republic is not an act of aggression against any form of government

in the world. The monarchy and the republic are not, in the eyes of true Statesmen, absolute principles which are enemies to the death; they are contrasted to each other, but can live face to face, while they understand and respect each other. \* \* War, then, is not the principle of the French Republic, as it became the fatal and glorious (?) necessity of the Republic in 1792. Between 1792 and 1848, there is half a century. To return, after the lapse of half a century, to the principle of 1792, or to the principles of conquest and of empire, would not be to advance, it would be to retrograde with the advance of time. The revolution of yesterday is a step in advance, and not one backwards. The world and ourselves wish to march to fraternity and peace. \* \* Moreover, the sole interest of the consolidation and the duration of the Republic would inspire in the statesmen of France thoughts of peace. It is not the country that runs the greatest danger in war; it is liberty. War is almost always a dictatorship. Soldiers forget institutions for men. Thrones tempt the ambitious. Glory dazzles patriotism. The prestige of a glorious name veils the attack upon the sovereignty of the nation. The Republic doubtless desires glory, but wishes it for itself, and not for Cæsars or Napoleons. \* \* In fine, we proclaim the declaration of alliance and amity to all nations. If France feels conscientiously its part in the mission of freedom and civilization in the present age, there is not one of those words, (Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,) which means *war*. If Europe is prudent and just, there is not one of those words which does not signify *peace*."

All this certainly looks hopeful for the peace of Europe; but France and the whole continent are so full of combustible materials, that a single spark may yet suffice in some evil hour to kindle the flames of a general war that shall put the world back a whole century. There is, indeed, a vast and cheering difference between this revolution, and that which in 1792 gave rise to the late terrible wars of Europe, one sincerely inclined to peace, while the other was madly fierce for war; and, if a similar deluge of evils should not sweep ere long over Christendom, it will, under God, be owing mainly to the far greater prevalence and power of those pacific principles which the friends of peace have been laboring, ever since the fall of Napoleon, to diffuse through the civilized world. Had they all done their whole duty on this subject for the last thirty-five years, we might now have been morally sure of peace being preserved in spite of this and kindred revolutions in Europe; and the aspects of the times both there and here call aloud upon all lovers of their country and their species to gird themselves in earnest for the prosecution of this noble, philanthropic enterprise with redoubled zeal and energy.